



Election Address

Scott
Papers

By Hon. W. R. Motherwell

TO THE ELECTORS OF NORTH QU'APPELLE

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1905-6
GENTLEMEN :-

On September 5th Premier Scott asked me to join him in forming a government for the new province of Saskatchewan. After taking a few days to review my personal affairs and consult with my friends I accepted the portfolio of Minister of Agriculture. At a well attended and representative Liberal Convention, held at Lipton on Oct 6th I was honored by being tendered the unanimous nomination for North Qu'Appelle and at once accepted.

While on my way to attend the above Convention I had the misfortune in a runaway accident to have my leg broken. While this was provoking to myself at this particular time and doubtless disappointing to my supporters, still we do not propose to let such trifles interfere with our general plans in the coming campaign. A platform substitute will be gotten to take my place during the fore part of the contest while I hope to be able to appear in person later on. This will however entail a greater proportion of the work being thrown on the local workers and supporters of the Scott government a burden which will be cheerfully borne and energetically disposed of if we are to judge by the enthusiasm displayed at the Lipton Convention.

It was my hope to have seen practically all the electors before polling day but this however desirable is now impossible. I can however do the next best thing, address you all in writing and discuss with you for a short time the various public questions now before the electors of the new province.

It is the privilege of an opposition to push to the front many of the issues in an election campaign even though they may sometimes be comparatively unimportant, it is the duty of the supporters of the government, as I conceive it, to meet such issues squarely and plainly by frank and

open discussion. I am free however to confess that it is extremely difficult to follow up many of the will-o-the-wisp cries of the anti-liberals in the present contest, particularly on the so-called provincial rights and School questions.

At the outset I am at a loss to know what to call the opposition to the Scott government. They refuse to be called "Conservatives" and I certainly am not disposed to call them that, knowing full well that very many of the rank and file of the Conservative party and leaders also are at heart opposed to the masquerade game that is being played under the name of Provincial rights.

See party resolution at Conservative Moore Jaw Convention as evidence of this.

"Anti-Liberals" is probably as good a term as any by which to refer to the opposition, and the appropriateness of it certainly cannot be gainsaid.

The first grievance that the anti-liberals with Mr. Haultain at their head have, is that that gentleman instead of Walter Scott was not called upon by Lieut. Gov. Forget to form the first government for Saskatchewan. As every reading man is aware, Mr. Haultain as long ago as last July entered into a deliberate and public crusade against the principle features of our Provincial Constitution. Every one admits Mr. Haultain's perfect right to take this position and thinks nothing less of him for so doing if they are convinced of his sincerity but to claim that Lieut. Gov. Forget as the representative of the crown, should have called on Mr. Haultain as his chief adviser under such circumstances is absurd and ridiculous. Mr. Haultain by his own free will act, classified himself as opposition, and now when others have accepted him at his own classification, his friends cry out for sympathy. "Does this in Brutus (Haultain) seem ambition? Ambition should be made of sterner stuff".

The so called School Question is

the next anti-liberal cry to which I will refer. From the overtime and wholly unwarranted manner in which this is being worked, we may safely conclude that this is the chief corner stone on which the opposition base their slender hopes of victory. It is the last throw of the dice of a party in despair the straw which the drowning man grasps at. It is difficult to deal here with a large and intricate question like this without being too lengthy. Permit me first to draw your attention to the Confederation or British North America Act, as the paramount law of Canada. *fourth of the*

Section 93 of this Act defines the provinces and reads as follows :-

"In and for each province the legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following provision (1) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially effect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the province at the Union".

Many regret at the present day that any such provision is in the "Imperial Confederation Act" but it must not be forgotten that it was inserted at the instance of Quebec Protestants and that without such protection of minorities in the matter of education it would not have been possible to have brought about the Union or Confederation of the various Canadian provinces. Bearing this in mind then and Sec. 93 of the B. N. A. Act as above quoted, it must be apparent that any right or privilege in respect to denominational schools enjoyed by any class of persons by law at the union of Saskatchewan with the Dominion, must be protected and continued in our new provincial constitution. When the question came up in Parliament last session, the western supporters of the government were unanimous in demanding that our present satisfactory and efficient school law, that had been tested for 14 years, should be continued. This was promised, but when the Autonomy Bill was read the first time it was found that the Educational clauses

were not sufficiently explicit in their intention to continue our present School law to suit the western representatives who insist ed on an amendment with no uncertainties attached.

The law as amended and embodied in the Saskatchewan Act reads as follows. "Section 93 of the B. N. A. Act of 1867 shall apply to the said province with the substitution for paragraph (1) of said section 93 of the following paragraph:— (1) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to Separate Schools which any class of persons have at the date of passing of this Act under the terms of Chaps. 29 and 30 of the ordinances of the N. W. T. passed in the year 1901, or with respect to religious instruction in any public or Separate School as provided for in said ordinance".

Mr Borden contended that Sec. 93 of the B. N. A. Act should apply automatically to the new province, let it mean in our case what it would.

Mr Haultain practically asks for the same thing in Sec. 2 of his Draft Bill which reads as follows:—

"On from and after the said first day of January 1903 the provisions of the B. N. A. Act 1867, except those parts thereof which are in terms made or by reasonable intendment may be held to be especially applicable to, or to affect only one or more, but not the whole of the provinces under that Act composing the Dominion and except in so far as the same may be varied by this Act shall be applicable to the province of (Saskatchewan) in the same way and to the same extent as they apply to the several provinces of Canada and as if the province of (Saskatchewan) had been one of the provinces originally united by the said Act".

Now what would the carrying out of Mr Borden's or Mr Haultain's proposition have meant? It must be remembered that we have had two distinct systems of Separate schools in the Northwest since 1884. System No. 1, extending from '84 till 1892 and was known as the "Dual System" whereby the board of Education was composed of two distinct sections, one part Roman Catholic and the other Protestant. Each section had full control over the administration, efficiency, text books, qualification of teachers, inspection; amount and kind of religion taught etc. in their own particular section. By the ordinance of 1892 this system was entirely changed by reducing the element of separation to the vanishing point and bringing all our schools both separate and public under state control. The Northwest school law of 1901 which is being

continued in the Provincial constitution at the request of our western representatives at Ottawa, grants equal privileges to both Roman Catholics and Protestants as regards separate schools and all are under state control. Keeping in mind then that there has been two distinct systems of separate schools in the N. W. Territories since 1884 it must be apparent that if the exact phraseology of the B. N. A. Act—Sec. 93—were incorporated in our new constitution, that then would immediately arise the question, which of these systems did the term 'by law in the province at the union' refer to? And in order to remove all uncertainty in the matter and avoid future friction our western representatives insisted that our present system should be continued and everything made perfectly explicit by distinctly specifying in the Saskatchewan Act (sec. 17) that our school law would be found in Chaps. 29 and 30 of our own ordinances of 1901 and not in the before mentioned dual system that existed prior to 1892.

While our "Provincial Rights" friends insist on the rigid application of Sec. 93 of B. N. A. Act regardless of how it would apply to existing conditions in Saskatchewan, they conveniently overlook the fact that in Mr Haultain's draft bill Secs. 10 and 11, he himself asks for variations in the B. N. A. Act to suit conditions in the west, in the matters of irrigation and the importation of intoxicating liquors. Memo under sec. 11 of Draft Bill is quoted as follows:—

"The object of this section is to continue in the new province certain powers respecting legislation on the subject of importation etc of intoxicating liquor, conferred on the Territories by the Northwest Territories Act and which would not be comprised under the B. N. A. Act 1867".

Mr Haultain in the above distinctly asks for powers that the B. N. A. Act confers on no other province in Canada and yet when Sec. 93 is varied even though such variation is for the purpose of avoiding uncertainty and friction as above indicated he proceeds to raise "much ado about nothing". Mr Haultain's supporters in many cases would like to leave the impression the impression that he if given the opportunity would wipe out every vestige of Separate schools, but this not the case, indeed that gentleman distinctly avers that were he dictator

to-morrow he would not change the present system.

Let us for the sake of illustration suppose for a moment, that Mr Haultain was advocating a change in the School law in respect to the entire abolition of Separate Schools the question would naturally arise, why he did not abolish them in 1892 when he trimmed them down to little else but the name. Simply because he dare not go any further, the provisions of Sec. 93 of the B. N. A. Act standing in the way, and the same restrictive B. N. A. Act is in full force and effect to-day.

Let us see what Mr Haultain really thinks of our present School System that his supporters pretend to be so greatly exercised over.

In a pamphlet reviewing the political situation of the Northwest government in 1892 and gotten out and distributed by the Northwest government we find the following on page 34.

"The difficulties which naturally bar the way to a complete educational system in a sparsely settled country such as ours, have only prove stepping stones to success, for the Education Department has the proud satisfaction of knowing that we have right here in this country of great distances, the foundation of an educational system second to none in Canada".

And again on page 35.

"The efficiency of the schools and the schools and the substantial grants to assist them, have proved a drawing card to attract immigration into the country &c. &c."

Contrast the above with what the opposition are today saying of this same school system.

Since both the Scott government and Mr Haultain are agreed that the present school system is good and suitable to present requirements where is the line of cleavage and what is all the row about? Mr Haultain wants to take up time and resources of the new province in going at once to the Privy Council to find out if the federal government had the power to bestow this excellent school system upon us, with the provincial liberty to improve it in every conceivable way except in regard to minority schools not because there is a grievance involving any practical consideration today but because one might arise in the indefinite future.

The Scott government on the other hand believe our Constitution including School laws meets present requirements (there has not been a word against it during the past 14 years) and while not looking for grievance or borrowing trouble 10, 20 or 50 years hence, stands

pledged (see Liberal platform) to meet them should they arise before the courts or anywhere else and in the last ditch if necessary, just as provincial liberals in other parts of Canada have so frequently and successfully done. In the meantime our rights will not be impaired or jeopardized by waiting till an actual practical grievance arises. See Manitobas experience as evidence of this. In the meantime we can devote our undivided energies and finances at once to developing the magnificent natural resources of this young province, a course much more advantageous to the everyday lives of our own people, that exercising ourselves over and anticipating troubles that may never arise. And be it remembered that Mr Haultains policy to go to the courts even though successful promises us nothing better than what we already have. And as law suits are liable to go anyway we would have to take chances of having the dual system before referred to restored to the province. Why then open up a question in which we have everything to lose and nothing to gain? Before leaving the question it might be of interest for you to know that there are only 5 separate schools in the province of Saskatchewan out of 850, 2 Protestant and 3 Roman Catholic. So little inducement indeed is there in the present school law, to organize separate schools that only one has been established during past 14 years and it has to come under the exact same state control and standard of efficiency as the 849. So that while our present school law preserves the rights of minorities, both Protestant and Catholic, as provided for in the B. N. A. Act, its practical working out has been to establish a national system of schools with certain home rule privileges in relation to religious teaching for the last half hour of the day in which all schools both public and separate may participate if they wish. Where is this system of schools or actual condition of affairs improved upon in any province of the Dominion?

Query—Had it fallen to the lot of Mr Borden to give us what we have gotten from Sir Wilfred would Mr Haultain have torn his hair about it?

The claim of the new province to the Crown lands is also to be taken to the Privy Council. Although Sir John MacDonald's government withheld the administration of Manitobas land and gave them a much less generous sum than we are getting in lieu thereof yet no public man in Manitoba ever advocated testing the question in the courts. They apparently have not got on to the test case fad there yet.

A moments reflection will convince any thinking man that if we are to continue our present vigorous immigration policy, that the administration of our public lands must be under the same jurisdiction as our immigration policy. It is our homesteads and cheap good lands that continue to draw an ever increasing throng of home seekers to our midst. If the three western prairie provinces had the administration of the public lands therein, it goes without saying that they would each also have to undertake the work and expense of immigration.

And with the lands administered by the provinces for revenue, where would the cheap lands—the drawing card—for the settlers come from? On the other hand if the province undertook to be as generous in the matter of lands to the settler as the federal government now is where would the provincial revenue come from? For be it remembered that while the anti-liberals are doing all kinds of figuring at present as to the value of these lands, the statement was made in parliament last session and went uncontradicted that during the past 35 years, it cost One million Dollars more to administer western lands, than the revenue obtained therefrom amounted to. Mr Haultain in his pamphlet speech of 1900 page 12 makes much the same statement in reply to the following question of Mr Bennetts.

Mr Bennett—You have nothing to show the cost of administering of Dominion lands?

Mr Haultain—Yes, there are figures shown but I think you will find that the receipts and expenditures pretty well balance each other.

Besides with three provincial land policies and three provincial immigration policies, and probably all is purely a political expediency different, one can easily imagine the confusion in the outside mind

that would ensue, as compared with the easily understood and most effective national system at present in vogue.

The federal government have acknowledged the proprietary right of Saskatchewan to her lands by granting us a substantial subsidy in lieu thereof. This sum in comparison with Manitoba's land subsidy will have to be conceded most generous. Manitoba gets a fixed sum of \$100,000 a year compensation for her lands. Saskatchewan starts out with an annual subsidy of \$375,000 which continues to increase until we attain a population of 1,200,000, when our land subsidy will be \$1,125,000 and will continue at this latter figure for all time. Conservative members in Parliament such as Mr Foster and Mr Wilson described these terms as altogether too generous to the new province. It must be conceded that they ARE generous, but this is a kind of 'Coercion' that we can stand a lot of.

Having in view all the circumstances in connection with the land question, we respectfully submit that a certain immediate income increasing with population is much more suitable and satisfactory to provincial requirements than any probable and uncertain net income that might accrue from the local administration of the public lands and particularly so when one considers the importance of making no changes that will derange or impair the present energetic and successful federal immigration policy.

As with the schools so with the lands our western federal members got what they asked for and our opposition friends are pleased to call it "Coercion". But they must talk, just as they talked last fall against the Grand Trunk Pacific.

Then we hear a great ado just now about Provincial Rights from a source that we have been lead to least expect it. Before a Provincial Rights party could very well justify its existence, it would seem necessary to establish the statement that a Provincial Wrong had been committed. This has not been done. As a matter of fact the whole cry of Provincial Rights is purely a political expediency. But it is being worked in the present campaign with the

vehemence of despair. The heart of the Conservative party was in favor of the old name and a straight party fight, as expressed at the Moose Jaw Convention, over which Mr Haultain presided as Honorary President. In the meantime however a federal election was held and the Liberals almost swept the west. It was since then that Mr Haultain and his friends have decided that they could play a more successful game at Provincial Rights than a straight Conservative party contest hence the high pressure now put upon the former. It remains to be seen whether there will be more Liberals won than Conservatives lost to the opposition, by this change of name.

It is a pity so much thought and attention is being paid to comparatively unimportant questions in the present campaign, but it is the opposition that are forcing these issues and they require to be met. To rage and tear about our present School system, that has been accepted and proven so satisfactory for so many years seems to me as futile and foolish as a farmer threshing last years straw. Besides, all this mischief making religious agitation on the part of the anti-liberals, with no apparent purpose in view, except the very natural desire to secure control of the treasury benches, cannot work anything but ill to our new country. Let us cut it out, and our public men be instructed to devote their every moment, thought, experience energy, talent and resource to the betterment of the condition of our people and the immediate development by railways, roads, bridges &c. of the enormous latent agricultural possibilities of our province.

We are at the flood tide of prosperity now, let us keep the ball rolling. There is more money, contentment and happiness in this for our settlers and their families than bitter and expensive law suits that at best promise nothing but confusion and strife.

The question will naturally be asked, how do I propose to conduct my department, now that a farmer has been given charge of the Department of Agriculture? This is a question that I would much prefer to reply to by actions than by words. Those of you whom it is my privilege to know I might refer to my past as an earnest of my

future. If I have served you well in a lesser capacity it shall be my desire and ambition to serve you better with the increased avenues and opportunities of usefulness now before me. Speaking generally I shall deem it my duty to avail myself of every opportunity to improve agricultural conditions both on farm and ranch in Saskatchewan. I would also like to draw your attention to two specific advance movements that in my opinion are absolutely essential to agricultural progress at the present time. The first is the establishment of one or two provincial seed grain farms where the systematic growing and grading of pure seed grain can be carried on to fill the rapidly growing demand for better seed in the west. An educative campaign has been conducted for some years, by the seed grain department of the Dominion Department of Agriculture, looking towards the improvement of seed grain in Canada. But the weakness of the movement, as I see it, is that there is a greater demand in this province for improved seed than the available supply will meet. I have given this question considerable thought and attention and am strongly impressed with the importance of paying more attention to our seed grain and increasing the available supply as quickly as possible. One or more government Seed Grain Farms would accomplish this in the most effective and sympathetic manner without in the least interfering with private enterprises.

The other question to which I would refer comes under the jurisdiction of the federal government, but should be taken up by the Provincial and pressed for a solution. This is the appointment by the Dominion government of a commission of three competent persons (representing the producing and other interests) to enquire into the various phases of the western grain trade. The scope of this commission could be made sufficiently comprehensive to cover every point of interest to the producer. Take for instance our present classification and qualification of wheat grades. From reports to hand only 2 to 4 per cent of our wheat is ranking 1 hard. And if this is the best we can do in an ideal year, what about the poor or average years? There is no sense

or reason in having our wheat grades that technically high that probably 95 per cent of it is excluded from our best grades in this good year. Besides farmers have no encouragement to aim at the best when they know that under present harvesting conditions (large farms, scarcity of labor, stook threshing &c.) it is practically ~~inobtainable~~ *unobtainable*.

These are questions of great moment to not only the producer but all classes in the province and will receive the Scott governments immediate attention if honored with the confidence of the electors in the coming election. Knowing something from personal experience at Guelph of the advantages of an Agricultural College it is needless to say that I am at one with my colleagues in believing that this province should have the fullest advantages of a first class Agricultural College at the earliest possible date consistent with the due recognition of its many other immediate requirements.

Sufficient and efficient transportation is the chief corner stone upon which the future success and development of Saskatchewan must be built. This includes both cheaper access to ocean ports (whether by Hudsons Bay or the improvement and extension of our eastern waterways) as well as the building of branch and spur lines to the outlying settlements many of which trunk lines do not serve. All such necessary enterprises call for generous encouragement at the hands of any provincial government. And my own 22 years isolation from railways in North Qu'Appelle in common with the old settlers should certainly impress upon me most vividly the importance of railway extension. This constituency is on the eve of securing several new railway, but there is one in particular that I am authorized to state should and will receive the immediate attention of the Scott government. I refer to the G. T. P. branch from Regina north easterly till it strikes the main G. T. line. This line will not only serve important districts and points now without reasonable transportation but also open up a much needed cross country road, whereby our lumber, coal &c. can be gotten in direct from the west without touring down through the province of Manitoba to get here.

And now in conclusion permit me to again express my disappointment at my inability to meet you all before polling day. I have written this address to you while lying on my back instead of speaking it to you standing on my feet. But I hope to be around again shortly and be privileged to discuss these questions with some of you at least in person. Meanwhile on the above issues and as a member of the Scott government, I respectfully solicit your support, and with confidence now leave the matter in your hands.

Very respectfully yours,
W. R. MOTHERWELL
Abernethy, Oct. 18, '05.